4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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tion of our research, confirmed, and much more clearly stated, by Wagley and his associates—particularly by Harris—that one of the criteria of class is color. In so far as this is true, class discrimination and color discrimination (but *not* race prejudice as defined above) are inevitably linked. Bastide and Van den Berghe contend that they are dealing with "race prejudice" when we believe they mean "discrimination on the basis of color."[35] That such exists by reason of color being one of the criteria of rank is admitted, in the same sense in which discrimination exists in the case of low family origin, or of low economic condition, or of low educational level, or of lack of personal competence.

Bastide and Van den Berghe also claim to have invalidated, as far as São Paulo is concerned, another hypothesis of this study which they identify as follows: "Prejudice against Negroes is directly proportional to socio-economic status." It is not clear to what these authors refer. We do not recognize this hypothesis as being among those formulated by us, either in this book or elsewhere; nor do we subscribe to it, as stated.

The hypotheses which emerged out of our original study[36] may require, however, certain qualifications and additions, in order to make the description and analysis more precise and complete.

With reference to hypotheses 1 and 2, Willems has called our attention to the possibility that the mortality rate among the lower (and extensively colored) ranks of the Brazilian population may be proportionately lower now than in the

[35] Plus a few limited and atypical cases, as we have suggested above, of discrimination on the basis of race, neither derived from, however, nor supported by, the local mores.

[36] See pages 345-50 of this book.

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past, while the birth rate may have remained more or less constant. If this apparent shift in natural increase continues, it will of course slow down, or even reverse, the trend toward biological absorption evident in the past.[37]

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With reference to hypotheses 3, 4, and 5, one should note three qualifications. In the first place, although the originally unbalanced sex ratio undoubtedly played a definite role in colonial Brazil in developing a tradition of interracial unions, it became more normal shortly after first contact; in the second place, miscegenation, from the colonial period to the present, has proceeded considerably (but not exclusively) *outside* marriage, by way of informal unions; and, in the third place, the term "endogamy" in hypothesis 5 perhaps should be substituted by some such phrase as "the biological distinctiveness of the races." Endogamy still exists, however, among a numerically small segment of the upper class, including certain families which evidence an uncommon pride in their European origin and, even more particularly, certain families among the landed aristocracy which have long sought to keep property in the family and—for this and other reasons—to resist the intrusion of individuals from outside the kinship group, including native-born and immigrant whites as well as colored individuals. This has been accomplished by extensive and continuous marriage within the kinship group, including cousin with cousin and, until recent

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[37] T. Lynn Smith (102–6) reminds us that the fertility index for brancos, according to the 1950 census, was at that time higher than that for prêtos in all but one of the Brazilian states and territories (the State of Rio de Janeiro, where the two were approximately even); and that the fertility index for brancos also was higher in fourteen states than that of even the pardos (browns). (In assessing these data, one must of course take into consideration the meaning of these supposedly racial terms, as indicated above.)

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mixed-blood is superior in vitality to both ancestral stocks.[39] The mulatto, being a "native plant," is popularly considered to have been better acclimated than either the European or the African. The Indian-white mixed-blood, concluded Colonel Artur Lobo da Silva of the Brazilian Army Health Service on the basis of a study which he made, is physically superior to both the white and the native Indian.[40]

There is some evidence, however, that the Brazilian mixed-blood is less resistant than the European and the black to certain diseases, for example, tuberculosis. Comparative statistics given for Bahia some years ago by A. Pacifico Pereira support this hypothesis. Although the percentage of *mestiços* in Bahia in 1904 was given as 35.1 per cent, the percentage of mixed-bloods among those dying from tuberculosis in that year was 49.0 per cent; while the whites, presumably 31.4 per cent of the population, furnished only 21.4 per cent of the deaths from this disease; and the blacks, who were 26.3 per cent of the total population at that time, furnished 26.9 per cent.[41] To resolve the problem of the vitality of the Brazilian mixed-blood in comparison with his parent-stocks would seem to require more extended research.

The most obvious effect of miscegenation is to reduce physical differences between the races. In Bahia intermixture has now, for more than four hundred years, been breaking down physical barriers and reducing that visibility which

[39] See, e.g., Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

[40] "A anthropologia do exercito brasileiro," *Archivos do Museu Nacional* (Rio), XXX (1928), 33.

[41] A. Pacifico Pereira, *A tuberculose na Bahia* (Bahia, 1904), p. 15. The remaining 7.2 per cent of the population were resident aliens, who accounted for 2.7 of the deaths from tuberculosis.